

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJ: COMMENTS ON MEETING, JUNE 17, 1977 (SALT TWO -1228)

1. AT JUNE 17 PLENARY, SEMENOV MADE STATEMENT ON MIRV VERIFICATION DURING WHICH HE TABLED EXISTING PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE II.5 AND NEW PROPOSALS FOR AGREED STATEMENTS FOR MIRV LAUNCHER DEFINITION, OFR LISTING MIRV MISSILES, ADN ON NUMBERS OF MIRV AND NON-MIRV LAUNCHERS AT D&P AND MALSTROM (SEE REFTEL SALT TWO -1223). I MADE A STATEMENT ON NUMERICAL UPPER LIMITS FOR THROW-WEIGHT AND LAUNCH-WEIGHT OF LIGHT AND HEAVY ICBMS, STRESSING POTENTIAL FOR MISUNDERSTANDING IN ABSENCE OF AGREED NUMBERS.

2. IN OUR POST-PLENARY CONVERSATION, SEMENOV INDICATED IMPORTANCE TO TODAY'S SOVIET PROPOSALS TO RESOLVE MIRV VERIFICATION, BUT WAS RECEPTIVE TO MY COMMENT THAT FURTHER EXCHANGE OF QUESTIONS AND ADDITIONAL DIALOGUE WOULD BE NECESSARY. WITH REGARD TO NUMERICAL LIMITS, SEMENOV DID NOT TAKE ISSUE WITH MY ARGUMENT THE DEVELOPMENT, TESTING, AND DEPLOYMENT OF US LIGHT ICBM USING OVERASSESSED VALUE FOR THROW-WEIGHT OF LARGEST SOVIET LIGHT ICBM COULD CAUSE UNNECESSARY PROBLEM WHICH WOULD BE AVOIDED BY AGREED NUMBERS, WHICH PRESENTLY ARE KNOWN ONLY TO SOVIETS. WITH REGARD TO SS-16/SS-20 PROBLEM, SEMENOV SAID SOVIETS WOULD NOT CONSIDER LIMIT ON NON-ICBM LAUNCHERS. I REPLIED THAT ISSUE IS NOT NON-ICBM

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LAUNCHERS, BUT WHETHER LAUNCHER IN QUESTION IS ICBM CAPABLE.

3. IN CONVERSATION WITH ROWNY, BELETSKY DENIED CONNECTION BETWEEN TELEMETRY AND DELIBERATE CONCEALMENT AND ASKED FOR EXAMPLES OF SUCH CONNECTION. ROWNY REPLIED THAT, IN VIEW OF SOVIET PROPOSED EXEMPTION, BURDEN FOR PROVING NO CONNECTION WAS ON SOVIETS.

4. SHCHUKIN TOLD SCHNEITER AND DEWING THAT, IN SOVIET VIEW, D&P AND MALMSTROM WERE UNIQUE IN SENSE THAT THEY WERE ONLY DEPLOYMENT AREAS WHERE THERE WERE MIRVED ICBMS OF ONE TYPE IN LAUNCHERS OF ONE TYPE AND NON-MIRVED ICBMS OF ANOTHER TYPE IN LAUNCHERS OF ANOTHER TYPE. HE MADE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THIS SITUATION AND CASE WHERE TWO DIFFERENT TYPES MIGHT EXIST FOR SOME PERIOD OF TIME AT DEPLOYMENT AREA BEING CONVERTED COMPLETELY FOR MIRVS. SHCHUKIN ALSO INDICATED THAT SOVIET PROPOSED DEFINITION FOR FUTURE HEAVY BOMBERS ASSUMES FULL LOAD OF BOMBS OR ASMS; FULL TANKS AT TAKE-OFF; EMPTY TANKS AT RETURN TO TAKE-OFF BASE; AND FLIGHT PROFILE OPTIMIZED FOR MAXIMUM RADIUS, WITHIN CAPABILITIES OF AIRCRAFT AND WITH NO CONSIDERATION FOR AIR DEFENSES. HE COMPARED FLIGHT PROFILE

FOR HEAVY BOMBERS TO OPTIMUM TRAJECTORY FOR ICBMS.

5. PAVLICHENKO TOLE ALESSI THAT IF A LAUNCHER AT TEST RANGE WAS TESTED BY LAUNCHING MIRVED ICBM, ALL OTHER LAUNCHERS OF SAME TYPE WERE TO BE COUNTED AS MIRVED. PAVLICHENKO INDICATED THAT SITUATION AT D&O WAS UNIQUE AND THAT PROPOSED SOVIET SOLUTION WAS AD HOC, BUT WAS EVASIVE WHEN ASKED WHETHER DESIGNATION OF TWO TYPES OF LAUNCHERS THERE WAS BASED ON SOVIET ARTICLE II.5 OR SIMPLY CALLED TWO TYPES TO SOLVE PROBLEM.

6. SMOLIN AND KARPOV KAVE KLOSSON AND MCNEIL NON-PAPERS WITH NEW LANGUAGE FOR PARAS 3(A) AND 5 ARTICLE VI. IN PARA 3(A) ON CONVERSION OF ICBMS TO MIRVS, SOVIETS DEOPPED TERM "FINAL STAGE" IN FAVOR OF TERM "A STAGE AGREED UPON IN THE SCC, WHICH
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DEFINITELY INDICATES THAT THEY ARE BEING SO CONVERTED." IN PARA 5 ON DEMIRVING, SOVIETS DROPPED TERM "FROM THE INITIATION OF THEIR CONVERSION" IN FAVOR OF TERM"(A) ICBM LAUNCHERS AT A STAGE AGGREED UPON IN THE SCC, WHICH DEFINITELY INDICATES THAT THEY ARE BEING SO CONVERTED; (B) SLBM LAUNCHERS ON A SUBMARINE WHEN THAT SUBMARINE FIRST GOES TO SEA AFTER COMPLETION OF THEIR CONVERSION."

7. NEXT PLENARY MEETIN TUESDAY, JUNE 21, 1977.

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